

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 HA-05 MCT-01 /102 W  
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R 131800Z MAR 78  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6939  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 495

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PROP, PDEV, SF, WA  
SUBJ: NAMIBIA - SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS REVEAL "SECRET" SWAPO  
TAKEOVER PLAN

1. SUMMARY: SOUTH AFRICAN SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS MARCH 12  
CARRIED SENSATIONAL FRONT-PAGE REPORTS OF A "HIGHLY SECRET"  
SWAPO MILITARY PLAN FOR NAMIBIA, AND ASSERTED THAT THIS  
SHOWS SWAPO TO BE UNINTERESTED IN FREE ELECTIONS OR A  
PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. THE STORY  
CONTINUED TO RECEIVE FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT MARCH 13 AND WAS  
THE SUBJECT OF A LONG TV INTERVIEW WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER.  
THIS APPEARS TO BE ANOTHER SAG ATTEMPT, SIMILAR TO THAT  
STIRRED UP BY THE NUJOMA TV INTERVIEW, TO RALLY PUBLIC  
AND INTERNATIONAL OPINION AGAINST SWAPO; ITS IMPLICATIONS  
FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNCERTAIN. END SUMMARY.

2. SENSATIONALIST LEAD STORIES IN THE AFRIKAANS AND  
ENGLISH SUNDAY PRESS OF MARCH 12 REVEALED A SWAPO  
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MILITARY PLAN TO "GRAB" SOUTH WEST AFRICA. THE TWO LEADING  
SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS, "SUNDAY TIMES" AND "RAPPORT", CARRIED  
VERY SIMILAR STORIES ON THE SWAPO PLAN, PRESUMABLY BASED  
ON BRIEFINGS THEY RECEIVED FROM THE SAG ON THE "HIGHLY SECRET"  
MINUTES OF A MEETING OF A SWAPO MILITARY COUNCIL WHICH ALLEGEDLY  
TOOK PLACE IN ANGOLA ON JANUARY 4. THE MINUTES, WHICH "FELL  
INTO SOUTH AFRICAN HANDS", ARE SAID TO LIST A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC

SWAPO GOALS, INCLUDING DESTRUCTION OF BRIDGES AND POWER STATIONS, "ELIMINATION" OF PUPPETS, ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL SABOTAGE GROUPS, DISRUPTION OF "SO-CALLED ELECTIONS", AND THE CAPTURE OF A "BOER" PRISONER OF WAR. ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS, THE SWAPO DOCUMENT STATES THE INTENTION TO INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AND POLICE REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY, DESPITE THE MOVES OF THE WESTERN POWERS. THE ARTICLES ALSO SPEAK OF SWAPO PLANS TO ACQUIRE TANKS AND PLANES FOR USE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER PIK BOTHA DISCUSSED THE ISSUE IN A LENGTHY SABC TV INTERVIEW MARCH 12. "DIE BURGER" MARCH 13 QUOTED BOTHA AS SAYING THAT THE DETAILS OF THE DOCUMENT "CONFIRM WHAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HAS REPEATEDLY SAID: THAT SWAPO IS NOT INTERESTED IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THAT ORGANIZATION KNOWS THAT IT CANNOT WIN AT THE BALLOT BOX AND THUS, IN THE WORDS OF ITS LEADER SAM NUJOMA, MUST USE VIOLENCE TO SEIZE POWER. IT IS ESPECIALLY INTERESTING THAT SWAPO DECIDED TO STEP UP ITS VIOLENT ACTIVITIES JUST AFTER IT LEARNED FROM THE WEST THAT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND TROOPS WOULD REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD. SWAPO CAN NOW DO ONE OF TWO THINGS. IT CAN, WITH THE SAME BRAVADO AS NUJOMA IN HIS TV INTERVIEW ADMIT THAT THE DOCUMENT CORRECTLY SETS OUT SWAPO'S POSITION, OR IT CAN DENY THE DOCUMENT AND REPUDIATE ITS CONTENTS. IN THE LATTER CASE IT WOULD MEAN THAT SWAPO

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IS SATISFIED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS CAN STAY IN THE TERRITORY FOR THE ELECTION. WHICHEVER OF THE TWO PATHS SWAPO FOLLOWS, IT WILL BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF EVERY POLITICAL PARTY WHICH STANDS FOR PEACE IN THE TERRITORY".

4. THE BRITISH EMBASSY CONTACTED PIK BOTHA'S PRIVATE SECRETARY ABOUT HIS TV STATEMENT ONLY TO BE TOLD NOT TO PAY TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE REMARKS. A PRESS SOURCE ALSO TOLD US TODAY (MARCH 13) THAT DESPITE PUBLICATION OF PORTIONS OF THE "SECRET PLAN" AND THE ACCOMPANYING PORTRAYAL OF SWAPO'S COMMITMENT TO A VIOLENT SOLUTION, THE DEPT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMEN HAD BEEN UNWILLING TO SAY THAT THEY NO LONGER HOPE FOR SWAPO PARTICIPATION IN A SETTLEMENT.

5. THE ARTICLES IN BOTH "SUNDAY TIMES" AND "RAPPORT" CONTAIN CONSIDERABLE EDITORIALIZING ON THE MEANING OF THE "SECRET DOCUMENT". THE "SUNDAY TIMES" LEAD STORY, BY FLEUR DE VILLIERS, STATES " IT IS CLEAR FROM THE DOCUMENT THAT, AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE WEST, SWAPO REJECTED THE KEY WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND A RESIDUAL FORCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAIN IN THE

TERRITORY DURING THE RUN UP TO ELECTION -- AND DECIDED TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE". SHE ALSO WROTE THAT THE DOCUMENT "REVEALS FINALLY THAT SWAPO IS DIRECTED AND SUPPLIED FROM MOSCOW....(AND) HAS NO INTENTION OF ADOPTING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, CONTRARY TO ITS ASSURANCES TO THE WEST". "RAPPORT" SIMILARLY SUGGESTED THAT "THE DOCUMENT WAS DESCRIBED IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES AS A POLITICAL BOMBSHELL. IT IS A BLUE PRINT OF TREACHERY WHICH ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATES THAT SWAPO HAS NO INTENTION TO WORK ON A PLAN FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. IT PLACES THE WEST IN AN UNENVIABLE POSITION, SINCE THE WEST MAINTAINS THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WITH SWAPO'S COOPERATION IS POSSIBLE".

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6. THE "SWAPO PLAN" WAS FRONT-PAGE NEWS AGAIN ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 13. IN A LEAD STORY HEADLINED "SHARP REACTION TO SWAPO MURDER PLAN", THE AFRIKAANS "DIE BURGER" STATES THAT THE "SWAPO DOCUMENT SHOWS FINALLY THAT THE ORGANIZATION IS NOT INTERESTED IN ELECTIONS BUT WANTS TO ESTABLISH A MARXIST GOVT BY FORCE". THE ARTICLE EXPRESSES THE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PUBLISHING OF THE DOCUMENT "WILL RESULT IN GREATER REALISM ON THE PART OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL".

7. COMMENT: THE SECRET SWAPO DOCUMENT REFERRED TO IN THE SUNDAY, MARCH 12 PAPERS IS THE SAME DOCUMENT WHICH BOTHA REFERRED TO IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH THE CAPE TOWN

FIVE ON MARCH 8 (CAPE TOWN 0457). AS WITH NUJOMA'S REJECTION OF MAJORITY RULE, AN ASPECT OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE SECRET DOCUMENT HAS BEEN TO PUT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON THE SPOT. UNDER APPARENT DFA ENCOURAGEMENT THE PRESS HAS BEEN PROBING FOR COMMENT FROM THE CAPE TOWN FIVE WITHOUT SUCCESS. SAG EXPLOITATION OF THE SECRET DOCUMENT LIKE THAT OF NUJOMA'S  
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MAJORITY RULE REMARK COULD BE USED TO JUSTIFY A SOUTH AFRICAN DECISION TO GO IT ALONE. THERE HAS BEEN NO APPARENT OFFICIAL EFFORT SO FAR, HOWEVER, TO INTERPRET EITHER AS DIRECTLY REFLECTING ON THE CREDIBILITY OF AN ELECTORAL PROCESS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE WESTERN AGREEMENT. INDEED BOTHAS REMARKS AS GIVEN IN PARA 3 COULD BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, INCLUDING THE PRESENCE OF SAG TROOPS AND POLICE UNTIL THE ELECTIONS, WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR RETREAT BY THE PARTY AND A VICTORY FOR THOSE "WHO STAND FOR PEACE".  
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## Message Attributes

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Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
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20 Mar 2014  
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